

## ARAB PEOPLE WANT U.S. TROOPS OUT

### Anti-War Ticket Begins Campaign

#### Lamont Condemns U.S. Intervention in Mideast Civil Strife

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, July 23 — Vigorously condemning Eisenhower's decision to send U.S. troops to the Middle East, the United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee today reaffirmed its determination to give the people of New York an opportunity to protest the brink-of-war action by voting for socialist candidates and a socialist platform of peace. The Committee announced that it had nominated the noted educator and civil liberties fighter, Corliss Lamont, for U.S. Senator from New York; John T. McManus, general manager of the National Guardian, for Governor and former American Labor Party leader Annette T. Rubinstein for Lieutenant Governor. The Committee said that candidates will be nominated

within the next few days for Attorney General and for Comptroller.

The ticket's ballot designation will be "United Socialist." To secure a place on the ballot, the new coalition of socialists and independents must obtain the signatures of 12,000 registered voters on independent nominating petitions, with a minimum of 50 signatures from each of the 62 counties in the state. State law sets a six-week period for collecting the petitions, beginning July 29 and ending Sept. 9.

A campaign-workers' rally has been called for tomorrow night to map plans for the state-wide petition campaign. The Committee has urged those who want to participate in the petition drive, but who are unable to attend the organizing rally, to get in touch with the United Ticket Campaign headquarters at 799 Broadway, New York City.

On July 16, the Campaign Committee had announced the nomination of Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein for U.S. Senator and John T. McManus for Governor. Nomination for either office had previously been offered to Dr. Lamont, who found it necessary to decline because of other compelling commitments. However, when the ominous news came over the radio that Marines had been ordered to intervene in Lebanon, he decided that the danger of war was so grave as to override all other considerations.

In a July 18 letter to the

For Governor of New York



John T. McManus

For U.S. Senator from New York



Corliss Lamont

#### Hostility Increases To Regimes Propped By Foreign Soldiers

By Carl Goodman

JULY 24 — The people of Lebanon and Jordan do not hail U.S. and British troops as liberators. Quite the opposite. In Lebanon, according to the July 21 Wall Street Journal, "Adel Osseiran, speaker of the Lebanese Parliament . . . called the U.S. landings 'an act of aggression' against Lebanon, a sentiment that was echoed by other politicians who had been counted in the pro-Western camp." It is estimated that at least half of the members of Parliament oppose the landing of the U.S. Marines as unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of their country.

The Marines are being fired on regularly by snipers three blocks away from their perimeter in Beirut and subject to nightly harassment by the population. A July 21 dispatch from Beirut relates that "Kids selling pop have tagged after the Marines in droves, and one left a bottle that exploded Saturday. It had been filled with gasoline and equipped with a time bomb." These incidents have put a great strain on the Marines, who asked from the first—

as U.S. troops asked in Korea—"What are we doing here?" From Amman, Jordan, Philip Geyelin reports in the July 22 Wall Street Journal that "the hostility of much of the population to the British landing has strengthened the opposition's support" in its struggle against King Hussein, the British puppet.

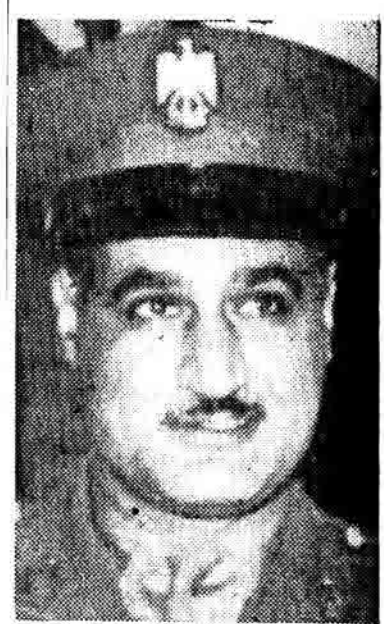
#### GET OUR FRIENDS OUT

Joseph C. Harsch, special correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor sums up the results of the American and British interventions as follows: "As this is being written reports from Lebanon and Jordan appear to show that the landings of Western troops there to protect the existing governments are having the net effect of weakening still further their prestige with their own people. . . . The most we may get out of it in the end will be a chance to rescue our friends for a life of exile." (July 23 Monitor.)

Clearly, President Eisenhower's claim in his radio speech to U.S. Marines in Lebanon that they were "helping the Lebanese people to remain free" is a blind for an entirely opposite policy—that of propping regimes discredited and hated by the Arab people. The more candid explanation for military intervention is given by Geyelin as follows:

"If diminutive King Hussein loses his grip and is swept away in the pan-Arab nationalist tide, most U.S. and British authorities here fear that Saudi Arabia would be quickly engulfed, too; even oil-soaked little Kuwait

#### Imperialist Target



Egyptian President Nasser, who defied Western imperialism by nationalizing the Suez Canal, has emerged as a central figure in the national independence movement of the Arab people throughout the Mideast. The Western powers are agitating for the overthrow of his regime.

might be washed away. Diplomats fear the West would face the prospect . . . of seeing its last footholds in the Middle East disappear, leaving the vital flow of Mideast oil to the whim of the nationalists, denying the West strategic air bases in this area and opening the way for similar nationalist, anti-Western upheavals in the emerging lands of Africa.

#### SIMILAR TO 1975

In short what the American and British seek to stem is the anti-imperialist, national liberation movement of tens of millions of people. It is this they call Nasserism and equate to "Hitlerism." But the Arab and similar movements in Asia and Africa represent the opposite of Hitlerism. They are a modern counterpart of the movement that gave birth to the United States in the 1775 revolution, as Nasser stressed in his July 22 speech celebrating the sixth anniversary of the Egyptian revolution.

The Iraq revolution illustrates how powerful is the tide of the national independence move-

(Continued on Page 2)

#### Bring Troops Back, Urges Reverend King

CHICAGO, July 19 — The Rev. Joseph P. King, United Socialist candidate for U.S. Congress from the Second District, today called for the withdrawal of American troops from Lebanon. In a speech at 46th St. and Greenwood Ave., the Rev. King declared:

"I call on the United States government to bring all American troops home before any blood is shed.

"I demand that the government prove its pretense of being for democracy by first of all enforcing civil rights at home.

"I demand that no American troops be used abroad until the American people vote on whether or not they want war; since the American people must do the fighting and dying they must have the right to make

(Continued on Page 3)

#### Court Orders Freedom For 5 Spanish Sailors

LOS ANGELES, July 19 — After being caged for a year by the U.S. Immigration Service because they sought political asylum from Franco Spain, the Five Spanish Sailors have been ordered released by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals.

The court's decision said that since the shore leave for the young men who left their ships in San Diego, expired when they were in Tijuana, where they were asking asylum of Mexico, the U.S. has no lawful jurisdiction over them.

The case of the Five Spanish Sailors started in June 1957, when the five left their ship in San Diego and fled to Tijuana, Mexico. They were tricked into signing a paper they did not understand on the basis of which they were turned over to U.S. Immigration authorities who hauled them across the border and lodged them in jail.

#### FACED DEATH IN SPAIN

The U.S. authorities were prepared to return the political refugees to the Spanish ship, which would take them back to Franco Spain, where they faced imprisonment or death. With U.S. military bases being built in Spain the government was anxious to stay on the good side of the Spanish dictator.

Court action by the American Civil Liberties Union, which went to the aid of the sailors, held up the threatened deportation. But the young refugees had to spend a year in jail while the case was being fought out.

Last winter, a Committee to Save the Spanish sailors was

set up with such prominent individuals among its members as Dr. Rufus B. Von Kleinsmid, former chancellor of the University of Southern California; Loren Miller, editor of the Negro weekly, the California Eagle; and Mayor Albert Ison of Torrance, Calif. Shortly afterwards, the Workers Defense League announced formation of a national committee to aid the five including Norman Thomas, James B. Carey and Victor Reuther. The five also received backing from many Los Angeles area union locals.

#### URGE NO APPEAL

Now that a favorable verdict has been won, the Committee to Save the Spanish Sailors and the American Civil Liberties Union urge all supporters of the case to wire U.S. Attorney General Rogers not to appeal the decision. Mexico has agreed to grant the Spanish sailors asylum; they should be allowed to go there immediately.

A July 19 editorial by the Los Angeles Mirror-News, approved the court decision and castigated the U.S. Immigration Service for its "highhanded, often illegal and too frequently heartless behavior . . ."

"A little less of the duty-struck, authority-happy attitude and a little more judgement and common sense should be prescribed to cure an unpleasant rash of incidents involving immigration officials."

#### Out of the Horse's Mouth

An Editorial

Those who still believe that it's shrewd politics to support Democratic candidates, because that's presumably the best way to advance the cause of peace, should listen with close attention to what Harry S. Truman had to say about sending American troops to Lebanon.

Truman did not attack this latest example of Dulles' brink-of-war policy. He did not attack Eisenhower for intervening in a civil war in the Middle East. He did not score the Republican incumbent for by-passing Congress and the American people in an action that might trigger World War III. He did not even blast the Republican high command for brushing past the United Nations as if they had never heard about that "bulwark" of peace.

Instead, Truman praised Eisenhower for getting us embroiled in the seething Middle East.

"The President has made a momentous decision and proclaimed a policy which every citizen of the United States should support," said this leading chief-tail of the Democratic Party.

If anybody was glib enough to think that Truman's criticisms of Republican foreign policy were criticisms of the brink-of-war insanity, he should carefully ponder the following statement: "In the recent past, I have been openly critical of . . . our international policies [but] the President, it is now evident, has adopted a policy of positive action." In other words, Truman applauds the Republican Presi-

dent for finally sending American troops into a situation of incalculable risk.

It is not difficult to surmise why Truman displays such bi-partisan fervor. It was Truman who set the pattern, taking a "calculated risk" and plunging the American people into the Korean civil war.

In all basic respects, Eisenhower's policy in Lebanon repeats Truman's policy in Korea. The invasion of Lebanon aims at keeping Chamoun, a hated agent of Western imperialism, in power against the will of the Lebanese people. The invasion of Korea aimed at keeping Syngman Rhee, a hated puppet, in power against the will of the Korean people and their desire to unify their country.

Truman's action implied the eventual crossing of the Yalu river in a military expedition to reopen China to imperialist exploitation. The result was war with the Chinese people. The Lebanese adventure is part of a Republican-Democratic scheme to keep the American and British oil barons in power in the Mideast. The Arab people are already taking it as a brutal challenge to their struggle for freedom and independence.

Truman's defense of Eisenhower points up the two-party conspiracy to safeguard and advance Big Business interests abroad even at the risk of atomic war. The first step toward enduring peace is to repudiate this bi-partisan conspiracy. In New York that can be done by helping to put the United Independent-Socialist Ticket on the ballot.

#### City Dwellers "Expendable" in Case of Atomic War

If you live in any of America's largest 92 cities, you have already been written off as expendable in World War III, if we are to believe the chilling report in the July 21 New York World-Telegram and Sun.

According to staff writer Allan Keller, in the event of a nuclear attack, the "government has put its main reliance on the survival of residents of rural areas and those who happened to live in spots that escape both bomb-blast and radiation fallout."

America's largest cities, which include about 70% of the total population, have been marked down as indefensible by Civil Defense officials. Some of the officials, it is true, are critical of the thinking that places most citizens in key target areas "beyond the pale." But the stark fact remains that very few dare to "buck the official policy line."

Even two months after the bombs fell, radiation fallout would still be a hazard to life outside of shelters in a considerable area of the country. In addition, in those "areas

dently in preparation for some time, was given grim timeliness by the Eisenhower-MacMillan decision to send American and British troops into the strife-torn Middle East. Fears that this insane adventure could touch off an atomic conflict have been voiced in many parts of the world.

If this Korea-like intervention into the internal affairs of other nations, or one like it in the future, should set off the big war, America would swiftly become a smoking charnel-house. "Six hours after a heavy hydrogen bomb attack on the United States vast areas would be blanketed with radiation fallout." Prevailing winds would spread the contamination most heavily over the industrial northeast . . . and no one could survive unless in shelters.

NO TAX WRITE-OFF  
According to Keller, "Today the chief emphasis of the government is on family fallout shelters in basements, fortified by a thousand or underground rooms in the yard." But nothing has been done to supply the potential rural survivors of an atomic-weapons attack with

money or materials to build shelters. Keller complains that they are not even permitted to write off the costs on their tax returns.

As for the residents of the industrial complexes, these are "the forgotten men and women in civil defense." Even "if they built their personal fallout shelters the blast effect, thermal radiation and fire would make their hideouts ineffectual."

Keller sees little hope, should he attack he visualizes occur. "Even if some sheep-herders in Utah and potato farmers in Idaho, logging men in Maine and cattlemen in the West survive a heavy atomic attack, where will they find the tools for rebuilding America?"

Tools and machines, not to speak of labor power, would indeed be difficult to find. "Within the target areas are most of the factories, arsenals, shipyards, power stations and other plants vital to a nation's life."

Norfolk. "It is virtually all one vast industrial complex, with overlapping target areas."

"Almost nothing has been done to disperse this industry or to put it underground. It has been left exposed to almost certain total destruction in the event of an attack."

#### WOULD MORE HELP?

The main complaint of this staff writer of the influential World-Telegram is that only about \$30 million a year has been earmarked by the government for civil defense. How a greater sum could help solve the problem, he fails to indicate.

Edward Teller, the "father" of the H-Bomb, believes that no one could survive in a big atomic attack unless equipped to live underground for two years. After that time, exploring parties could venture out to determine whether plants could be grown again.

Keller approves the \$40 billion-a-year war budget. "No

one quarrels with money spent to support the Strategic Air Command, our main retaliatory arm, or for missiles, which may take over that chore from the super-bombers."

In this grisly picture of what can happen to America if the present drift toward war continues, Keller calls attention to an ironic note. When the civil defense officials were "dispersed" away from Washington, they chose Battle Creek, Mich., as their headquarters.

This, Keller notes, is "almost midway between Chicago and Detroit, two of the largest, most important industrial targets in America."

"If Chicago or Milwaukee is bombed, Battle Creek will be almost in the dead center of the 'hot tongue' or radiation fallout from either city. If Detroit were bombed when the wind was from the east, CD headquarters would be almost as badly off. It is typical of the confusion that marks all civil defense."



## Lebanon Invasion Opposed in Letters

"Sending U.S. Troops to Lebanon Stirs Letter Writers, Mostly to Criticism," says the July 20 Cleveland Plain Dealer. Here are excerpts from some of the critical letters printed by the Plain Dealer.

Joseph Kasher of East Cleveland writes: "I am demanding (which probably won't mean a thing) as an American citizen that Congress take away the power from the President to send our boys across again to fight. . . . I only wish there was another political party started — by the people and for the people of the United States, eliminating both the Democratic and Republican parties."

### PROFITS AT STAKE

"Middle East oil is not at stake," writes Norman Berman. "We can buy it from Iraq just like we're still using the Suez Canal by paying Egypt instead of the former profit grabbers. At stake are profits realized from the mineral-rich lands of the Middle East. At stake is world peace. Eisenhower said on Tuesday that Lebanon was being protected from 'indirect aggression from without.' Everyone knows what that means. That's diplomatic double talk that means protecting Lebanon from the Lebanese."

J. Paul Cotton asks, "Since

## Socialist Youth Pickets in L.A. Hit War Moves

LOS ANGELES, July 19 — A sizable group of young socialists and independent students answered the call of the Conference of Young Socialists here today to demonstrate in front of the Federal Building against United States aggression in the Middle East.

The 14 banners carried by the young demonstrators carried such slogans as "Don't prop up Mideast Dictators," and "Stop Brink of War Tactics."

The leaflet handed out by the demonstrators said, "The U.S. State Department has plunged America into an open act of aggression against the people of the Middle East. . . . The right of the Lebanese, Iraqi and Jordanian people to choose their own leaders has been denied in favor of unbridled petty tyrants, ruthless monarchs, and the greedy interests of Standard Oil and other oil monopolies."

Both newspaper and television coverage was given the demonstration which received an interested rather than an antagonistic reception from bystanders.

## Letters from Readers

### Corrects Details On Seattle Assault

Editor:

You have our thanks for the sympathetic treatment given the attack upon us by the Fosterites on July 4th at the Peoples' World picnic.

However, there were a few inaccuracies in both accounts in the Militant. In the July 14 story you refer to the beating administered to Clara Kaye and myself, describing us as "with blood streaming down their faces." As far as I know there was no blood on Clara's face. I am unable personally to give an accurate account of the scene, but an acquaintance who arrived just at the end of the brawl described it as follows: "When I saw Dick with blood running down his face and Clara lying on the ground I was paralyzed. I was sick." He was at that time a prominent CP member, but I understand that he has since resigned over the episode.

You refer to Clara's injuries as including cuts on the face. This would be consistent with the theory of "blood streaming down" her face. But it didn't happen that way. Clara was hit and knocked down and suffered sprains and bruises.

In the July 21 issue you twice allude to the "three SWP leaders" (Jack Wright, Clara and myself) who were all "severely beaten." Jack, although roughly ejected from the picnic was not beaten.

As far as my recovery is concerned, my nose is nearly back to normal size, and its shape won't be greatly damaged, it having been broken several times before. My right shoulder and ribs are still quite painful when I move them, but I am able to carry on most of my normal activities.

R. S. Fraser  
Seattle

### Eisenhower Doctrine

Editor:

Now I know why the Monroe Doctrine. For 135 years our business tycoons with the backing of the U.S. government have set up puppet governments in the South and Central American countries and aided them to keep their own peoples in slavery and poverty and ignorance and starvation. The Eisenhower Doctrine was instituted for the same purpose and to help Britain and France continue their robbing and murdering colonialism.

E. L.  
Santa Rosa, Calif.

### United Ticket

Editor:

At the recent political conference, it seems to me the weakest position in the debate was the claim of Communist Party leaders that an exclusive socialist ticket would isolate socialists from the labor movement. We certainly cannot ask the voters to support both socialist and capitalist candidates.

Some speakers seemed to think that it is not yet time for a real socialist ticket: this is what the capitalist apologists used to tell us fifty years ago. One who votes for a capitalist party candidate is not a "radical." To support capitalist candidates would be a return to Gomperism, that is, fakery and confusion.

Socialists are now isolated from the fakers at the head of the labor unions, but not from its membership. Some Communist Party speakers seem afraid of these union leaders — afraid we might be isolated from these gentlemen. I do not think the Communist leaders today represent the will of their rank and file either.

E. J. H.  
New Jersey

# Fabulous Profits from Mideast Oil

By Gordon Bailey

Behind the rumble of U.S. tanks and the clump of British soldiers' boots in the Mideast a more significant sound can be heard: the splash and gurgle of oil in pipelines and tankers — and the whirl of IBM cards tallying up the profits of the international oil cartel. Day and night, unceasingly, the subterranean treasures of the Arab peoples is being pumped out to sustain the industries of the world and to enrich a handful of American and British oil companies. In 1956 the American companies involved amassed a profit of \$500 million on an investment of \$1 billion — a 50% return on their capital.

The tremendous profit take is sustained by the greatest proven reserves of oil in the world. At the end of 1957 proven reserves in the Near East amounted to 169½ million barrels compared with reserves of 58.4 million in the Western Hemisphere. So rich are the oil fields of the little sheikdom of Kuwait that oilmen have never drilled without finding oil. (In the U.S. it is usual to drill eight dry holes for each producing well.) While each U.S. well in 1952 dribbled an average of 12 barrels a day, a middle Eastern well gushed forth 3,000.

Most of the conflicts of the Mideast center around control of this underground ocean of oil. U.S. and British imperialists point to the dependence of Western Europe on Mideast oil. They depict the dire consequences if Nasser or some other "nationalist fanatic" were in a position to shut off the flow of this vital fuel. It is their "justification" for military intervention in the Mideast.

### CERTAIN FACTS

This overlooks several facts: (1) The Arab independence movement, which Nasser heads, has no motive to shut off the oil supply except as a defensive measure against imperialism.



Eisenhower to Macmillan: "It's been tried with a broom. We should succeed with bayonets."

The Arabs want to exchange the oil on a fair basis for the products of the rest of the world.

(2) According to a July 22 U.S. dispatch, U.S. government officials said that "in event all the Mideast's oil . . . were cut off the United States would have more than enough gasoline, fuel oil and other vital by-products to fill both domestic and Western European needs. In addition vast supplies would be available from Venezuela . . . and Mexico." The cry of threatened oil cut-off is thus a blind.

(3) West Europe is now at the mercy of a gang of oil buccaners. The real reason for U.S. and British military intervention is to preserve their monopoly profits. The Arab national liberation movement would break through the stranglehold the oil monopolists apply from producing well to oil retailer.

Five American companies, one British concern and one British-Dutch concern control over 90% of Mideast producing wells and proven resources. These are Standard of New

Jersey, Texaco, Socony, Gulf, Standard of California, Anglo-Iranian and Shell respectively. Together these seven giants own the refineries, the tankships, the pipelines, and the sole marketing facilities for Mideast oil. Through interlocking directorships, and cartel agreements they control production, allocate markets, and set prices. The only "outsiders" allowed into this "brotherhood of oil" are Dutch interests with a small share. All other consuming nations can buy oil only on terms set by the Anglo-American car-

tel. For that matter American and British citizens fare no better than foreign customers at the hands of "their" oil companies.

HOUSTON PLUS

Harvey O'Connor in his book, *Empire of Oil*, gives a revealing picture of cartel oil pricing policies. Since the oil giants own wells in the U.S. and throughout the rest of the world, they set Mideast prices at a level to absorb high U.S. production costs. Then the cartel adds the cost of tanker shipping from Houston to the point of sale — even if no such transport is involved! Thus, during World War II the British found themselves at Abadan, Iran, paying the freight across the Atlantic for Middle Eastern oil that merely traveled through a short length of pipe from refinery to ship.

In 1953 U.S. domestic oil prices were raised 25¢ a barrel "to encourage exploration." Immediately the cartel raised the price of Mideast crude by the same amount. This boost cost Europe \$122-180 million a year more. About that time the *British New Statesman* charged, "There is now no longer any free market price in oil, anywhere in the world. . . . Europe is being bled by needlessly high monopoly prices."

The exact cost of producing a barrel of oil in the Near East is a secret locked in the files of the cartel, but part of their profits is a matter of public record. One U.S. firm alone — Standard of California — got \$645 million from its Asian holdings (including those in the Mideast) from 1948-54. In one year, 1954 profits were \$117 million on an investment of \$13 million. In seven years California was able to plow back \$385 million into its Asian holdings. For each dollar invested, California acquired an equity of \$29.61.

These bloated profits have been amassed after royalties of

50% have been paid to the feudal rulers of the oil-rich lands. This 50-50 split was by no means voluntary with the cartel. In Iran it took the nationalization of oil under Mosaddegh to force this division of the profits. Furthermore, company accountants can conceal the cartel's actual profits.

### SHEIK GETS IT ALL

Even with a 50-50 split, floods of gold pour into these lands. It is estimated that if the 200,000 residents of Kuwait were to share equally in the oil revenues their annual incomes would rise from the present average of \$50 a year to \$750. The royalties, however, are paid not to the people of Kuwait but to their feudal ruler, the sheik, who before 1938 and the discovery of oil squeezed out a meager income by taxing passing pilgrims to Mecca. Today his personal income is estimated at \$140 million a year. No more than a third of these millions goes into the public treasury. Another third is salted away in foreign securities against a day of reckoning.

The day of reckoning is more than due as the disparity between the poverty of the Arab masses and the wealth beneath their feet becomes more apparent. The Mideast has become a great oil producer almost overnight. In 1939 this area produced 6.5% of the world's oil; in 1954 it contributed 20%. While U.S. oil production rose 81% from 1939 to 1952, Middle East production shot up 533%.

This is speeding up the Arab national independence fight and the class struggle. In Arab countries where there are no real towns the oil companies are creating a working class. In October 1953, 13,000 of Aramco's workers in Saudi Arabia went on strike. The forces set in motion by the oil cartel will not long remain dammed up by feudal monarchs nor by British troops or U.S. Marines.

## ...Arab People Oppose Troops

(Continued from Page 1)

ment and how reactionary and corrupt are the regimes propped up by the U.S. government. It was this revolution — which overthrew King Faisal, reckoned as the first step of the "West" in the Middle East — that led to Eisenhower's panicky intervention with Marines in Lebanon. The overthrow was accomplished by Iraqi army units, who refused to go to Lebanon in support of Chamoun. It was made secure by a mass upheaval.

All sections of the population hated the monarchy from Iraqi businessmen on down. Talbot Patrick in a July 24 AP dispatch quotes a prominent Iraqi as follows: "It was said in business and government circles that if you wanted to start a business of any size the Prince Regent had to be given 60 per cent of the stock before you could start in business. A small clique ran everything for the members' personal benefit and the nation and its people got very, very little."

The masses have even more deep-seated grievances. Iraq is primarily an agricultural country. But land, says John P. Leacoccos in the July 20 Cleveland Plain Dealer, is held by "200 ruling patriarchal landowners whose domains often run close to a million acres and who are the sovereign lords of the marshes and the hills." The city poor make only 75 cents a day as common laborers and "want a crack at this land."

Public works financed out of oil royalties benefited mainly the feudal barons and strengthened the feudal structure. . . . there has been little tangible improvement in the lot of the people," from these projects, says the July 20 New York Times in an article, "The Mideast: Land, People and Politics." The net effect of the huge royalties (\$206,500,000 in 1955) "has been a punishing inflation that has tended to increase the misery of the poor peasants."

### ALL ARE 'COMMUNISTS'

The overthrow regime was a police state that suppressed all political parties. Leacoccos writes "Most Communists in Iraq were dead, in exile or in jail. The slain late premier, Nuri Said . . . saw to that. Anybody who opposed him was a Communist. Some were — and some weren't." The parliament was hand-picked.

Razing the feudal structure is an indispensable first step in the economic progress of the sorely exploited Arab masses. Another indispensable first step is national unification. The 46,800,000 Arabs in the Mideast people, one nationality, one race," says the July 20 New York Times. But they are cut up into a number of states. And not because they will it so.

the Allies. Allied statesmen were negotiating secretly the division of Arab lands . . . into British and French zones of influence. . . . Thus the pan-Arab idea was betrayed."

### THE GREAT WEAKNESS

The Arab people have never accepted the gerrymandered unity as final. "The tide of unity is the sea of pain," says Muzaffar, "and they cling firmly to any leader who makes unity his ultimate goal. To the Arabs, disunity is their greatest weakness and they believe that without unity they will ever be plagued with foreign influence and domination."

But it is precisely to keep the Arab world dismembered and preserve foreign domination that Eisenhower and Macmillan rushed troops to Lebanon and Jordan. Their claims of upholding national independence against "indirect aggression" from Egypt is deceit. Egypt is not a foreigner in the eye of the Arab masses. The proof is that Iraq is no warring toward some form of federation with the United Arab Republic of Egypt and Syria. It is feudal

the division is the work of British and French imperialism in the period between the two world wars.

Aside from Egypt, "The other Arab states of the area including Saudi Arabia . . . [owe] its present form and territorial limits more to the political maneuverings of Western European powers than to national political evolution . . ." writes Halford L. Hoskins in a book, *The Middle East*.

Arab national unity sentiment dates from the second half of the 19th century, says Jamal Muzaffar in the July 23 Christian Science Monitor. It resulted from Turkish oppression. Arab leaders from Syria, Egypt, Iraq, Yemen and North Africa "reached the conclusion that the Arabs were a great nation in history and that they had a bright civilization before and after Islam."

During World War I, the Western allies urged the Arabs to revolt against the Turks and "pledged to give the Arabs their independence and unity. But while the Arabs were fighting vigorously on the side of

the Allies, Allied statesmen were negotiating secretly the division of Arab lands . . . into British and French zones of influence. . . . Thus the pan-Arab idea was betrayed."

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rulers and politicians such as Lebanon's Chamoun who alone among the Arabs are attached to the "national entities" rigged by imperialism, because they alone have benefited from imperialist rule.

Oil has been a great spur to the development of national consciousness among the Arab masses, and to the demand for national unity. Why should the great national wealth of the Arab people go to enrich foreign profiteers and a handful of Arab potentates? Why should not the Arab people benefit in common from this bounty and use it as the basis for overcoming age-old economic backwardness and misery? These are questions the Arab masses ask. The nationalization of the Suez Canal was immensely popular throughout the Arab world because it pointed to the next great step of national independence — the nationalization of oil. But Arab national unification must first be realized before the Arab people can control their oil resources and otherwise liberate themselves from imperialism.

## Women Voters League Queries N.J. Candidate

NEWARK, July 21—Daniel Roberts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from New Jersey today declared his opposition to U.S. "police actions" whether

in Korea or the Mideast. His stand was part of an answer given to a League of Women Voters' questionnaire addressed to all Congressional candidates in the state. The text of the League's questions and Roberts' answers follow:

"Q. Please indicate the aspects of U.S. foreign policy with which you are most in agreement; those of which you are most critical.

"A. I am not at all in agreement with present Big-Business-inspired U.S. foreign policy of Republicans or Democrats. Am most opposed to "police actions" whether in Korea or Mideast; continued testing of atomic weapons; refusal to recognize China and expand trade with Soviet bloc; support of reactionary monarchs and dictators like King Saud, Chiang Kai-shek, Franco, Batista; "liberation" of USSR and East Europe. The latter policy aims at re-imposing capitalism against the will of the majority in these countries. I believe the Soviet-bloc working people will end bureaucratic dictatorship and establish socialist democracy by their own efforts.

"Q. In what domestic legislation are you especially interested? Please state your support or opposition.

"A. Unemployment compensation: I favor uniform national system providing compensation for all in need of jobs for as long as they are unemployed and at rates equal to full, union-scale pay. Civil rights: favor measures with strong enforcement provisions to eliminate



DANIEL ROBERTS

racial segregation and discrimination. Oppose Smith Act, bill permitting state "sedition" acts, passport restriction measures, Congressional investigation into "Communism" and other infringements on right of free speech. Favor repeal of Taft-Hartley and oppose new curbs on labor. Favor nationalizing arms industry and turning it into production for peace. Favor end to withholding tax, no taxes on income below \$10,000 a year.

Roberts is editor of the Militant. He is 40 years old.

## Lovell Protests to Eisenhower

DETROIT, July 18 — American intervention in Lebanon was assailed in a July 15 letter to President Eisenhower by Frank Lovell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor of Michigan.

"The landing of American troops at Beirut," Lovell declared, "threatens the peace of the world and imperils American lives there."

"The Arab people are now attempting to rid themselves of an age-old feudal tyranny, unite the several states, reorganize their economy, and establish a modern nation," Lovell wrote. "They don't like the old kings. They want control of their own lands, and they want the fruit of the vast natural resources that belong to them."

"This idea of an independent sovereign people is the basic idea that inspired the American colonists in 1776. It is an idea that the government of this country ought to encourage and support today."

"Instead, your action aims to thwart the national aspiration of the Arab peoples, keep them divided into small states, subject their economy to the interests of American oil barons, and impose upon them the hated and despised native rulers who are completely subservient to the U.S. State Department."

"This kind of action has made our country the most feared and hated of nations by peoples throughout the colonial world. Americans who cherish the tradition of freedom and indepen-



Larry Dolinski, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Lieutenant-Governor of Michigan.

dence that is rightfully ours ought to demand now that all U.S. troops be recalled."

Speaking tonight at a meeting of the Friday Night Socialist Forum, Evelyn Sell, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator, elaborated on the party's civil rights plank. "What's good for the civil rights movement is good for the union movement," she said. "And what's good for the union movement is good for the civil rights movement."

"The same sheriff that killed Negroes in the Groveland, Florida frame-ups," said Mrs. Sell,

"boasted that he would do the same to any union organizer he'd catch."

"The same white Citizens Councils that throw bombs at Negro churches, beat up white men who would try to join their Negro co-workers in cooperative actions," she continued.

### LABOR'S DUTY

She explained that the labor movement has two responsibilities that it cannot evade. It must give full moral, physical, financial and organizational support to the civil rights movement in this country.

Equally important, it must present this country with an alternative to the Democratic and Republican politicians by launching a new, independent party—a labor party — "which can offer candidates to the Southern Negro and white workers that will bring about a new Southern way of life."

"Such a party," she concluded, "can offer a program to people all over the country which will be based upon the needs and desires of the majority: the workers, the Negro people, the housewives and the students."

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## "Fuera Nixon!"

When Nixon was stopped on his "good will" tour in Latin America by cries of "Little Rock" and "Throw Him Out," a Los Angeles newspaper asked, "Where could we recruit an anti-Russian mob for a demonstration, except Formosa and Korea?" But the same newspaper that made this damaging admission was unable to explain the fierce hatred for the U.S. south of the Rio Grande.

For a Marxist explanation, read this thought-provoking article in the summer issue of the International Socialist Review. On newsstands, or send 50 cents for a copy.

### International Socialist Review

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# THE MILITANT

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Monday, July 28, 1958

## A UN Force in Lebanon?

The proposal of the U.S. government that the United Nations dispatch an "emergency force" to Lebanon is as reactionary in design as the present invasion of that country by the U.S. Marines. Either way, the purpose is to prevent the Lebanese people from settling their own affairs and to help keep the Arab world divided in order to perpetuate the rule of oil imperialism. If the Marines were to don UN armbands, or if the UN were to send an "observation" force the size of an army, nothing would be changed. A UN force would be in Lebanon to prop up a government that the people have clearly demonstrated they don't want.

In making its bid for a UN-cloaked intervention, Washington is cynically exploiting those UN members under its thumb. Consider the vote in the Security Council endorsing the U.S. position. The Soviet Union alone bucked the proposed intervention and correctly used its veto power to prevent it. Sweden abstained and eight delegates voted "yes."

In addition to Washington's partners, Britain and France, there was the pro-intervention votes of the delegates from Canada and Japan, two countries economically dependent on the major capitalist powers. There were three additional votes that might just as well have been cast directly by the U.S. itself — those of Panama, Colombia and what Washington calls with a straight face the "legal" government of China, that of its puppet Chiang Kai-shek. Finally, there was the vote of the delegate appointed by the government of Iraq which has been unseated by the people of that country. These delegates voted for the U.S. proposal in the face of the UN's own

finding that the Lebanese revolution was not imported from Egypt or anywhere else.

This unscrupulous manipulation of the UN by Washington is but one more demonstration that it regards the "world agency" solely as a propaganda vehicle and as a legal cloak for its strong-arm moves. This was the case when Truman hurled U.S. troops into the Korean civil war and then bludgeoned a UN majority into giving his action legal sanction. And this is the case today when Eisenhower announces the dispatching of troops to Lebanon in the very same breath that he piously declaims that he "does not, of course, intend to displace the United Nations."

Cooperation by the governments of the world to preserve peace is indeed a major goal of humanity. But the sordid record of the UN—like that of the League of Nations before it—confirms that a capitalist-dominated agency cannot achieve such a goal. It will take the creation of socialist governments in the United States and the other major capitalist countries to assure the peaceful cooperation of governments.

But fortunately there is today a big, effective instrument in the struggle for peace—the international action of the working class and the colonial freedom fighters.

Today, the militant Arab fighters for national independence stand in the front line of the battle for peace and freedom. It is the duty of all of us in this country who share their liberating aspirations to mobilize support behind them. And the best way to do this is to campaign for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from the Mideast.

## A Dent in the 'Subversive' List

After a ten-year fight, a dent has been made in the Attorney General's "subversive" list. On July 17 the Justice Department announced it was removing from the list of proscribed organizations the names of the Independent Socialist League, its youth organization, the Socialist Youth League, and the ISL's predecessor organization, the Workers Party.

With the aid of the Workers Defense League, the ISL appealed its inclusion on the "subversive" list back in 1948 and finally won its first hearing from the Justice Department in 1955. The present decision is the outcome of the hearings, the first of their kind to be held since the list was created. In announcing its decision, the Attorney General's office stated it was removing the three names from the list because it couldn't really prove they belong on it.

Commenting on this, the noted civil liberties attorney who handled the ISL case, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., said: "If a group has been on a list for ten years and then the Justice Department comes up and says it does not have enough evidence to justify putting them on the list originally or for keeping them on it, there ought to be no such list. The list is an undemocratic device because no Attorney General should have or should want the power to blacklist political organizations."

Rauh's comment is to the point. The "subversive" list is totalitarian in concept and in manner of execution and as such

has been the keystone of the entire witch hunt. Created in 1947 by the Truman Administration, the list now includes several hundred organizations. All of them were placed on it by arbitrary decree of the Attorney General's office because of their political views — real or alleged.

Armed with this list, the government has waged a systematic "loyalty" purge of its employees, firing thousands for membership — again real or alleged — in the proscribed organizations. (One of the best-known cases was that of the legless veteran, James Kutcher, who was fired from the Veterans Administration for his admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party, which is on the blacklist.)

The use of the list was extended into the armed forces, the merchant marine and into private plants with government contracts. It has been adopted on a wide scale in private industry and in the entertainment field. Racist legislatures in a number of Southern states have used it as a model and sought to declare the NAACP "subversive."

It is good that the Independent Socialist League and Socialist Youth League have won their fight to get off this odious blacklist. But the crucial issue remains not whether any one organization "belongs" on the list, but the need to eliminate the list itself. Civil liberties will not be secure in this country until it is abolished.

## 125 Attend Daumier Exhibit In Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES, July 19 — Forum Hall here tonight was host to an affair new to these quarters. Around 125 persons attended a program, on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Honore Daumier, father of political satire and modern cartooning. The program consisted of a display of 200 lithographs by him published in the newspapers of his time. A lecture was presented by George Lavan, staff-writer, followed by a showing of the art-film "1848" an account of the Revolution in France of 1848.

The affair had been organized by a group of artists from various fields for the benefit of an appropriate "Laura Gray Memorial" — the publication of a wide selection of her cartoons from the Militant. Nearly \$150 was raised at the meeting for the project. (Laura Gray, Militant artist for 14 years until her death last Jan. 11.)

The committee of artists is now discussing future programs of a similar character as this was so warmly received and supported.

### Election Encampment - Rally

### Wingdale-on-the-Lake for the United Independent-Socialist Ticket

AUG. 15-17 WEEKEND  
Full details to be announced.  
For further information, write to: United Independent-Socialist Ticket, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y. or phone GR 3-2141.

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# The Mayor Isn't Interested in Shakespeare

By Lillian Kiesel

Every summer evening in New York City's Central Park, about 2,400 people enjoy seeing a Shakespeare play performed in the open air free of charge. This summer, the New York Shakespeare Festival, which stages the performances, is producing two plays: Othello and Twelfth Night. They are acted at the Belvedere Lake Theater, or Shakespeare Theater, as it has come to be called.

The enthusiasm and gratitude with which the audience received the performance of Othello that I attended led me to investigate the reasons why the city government does not greet this theater with equal enthusiasm.

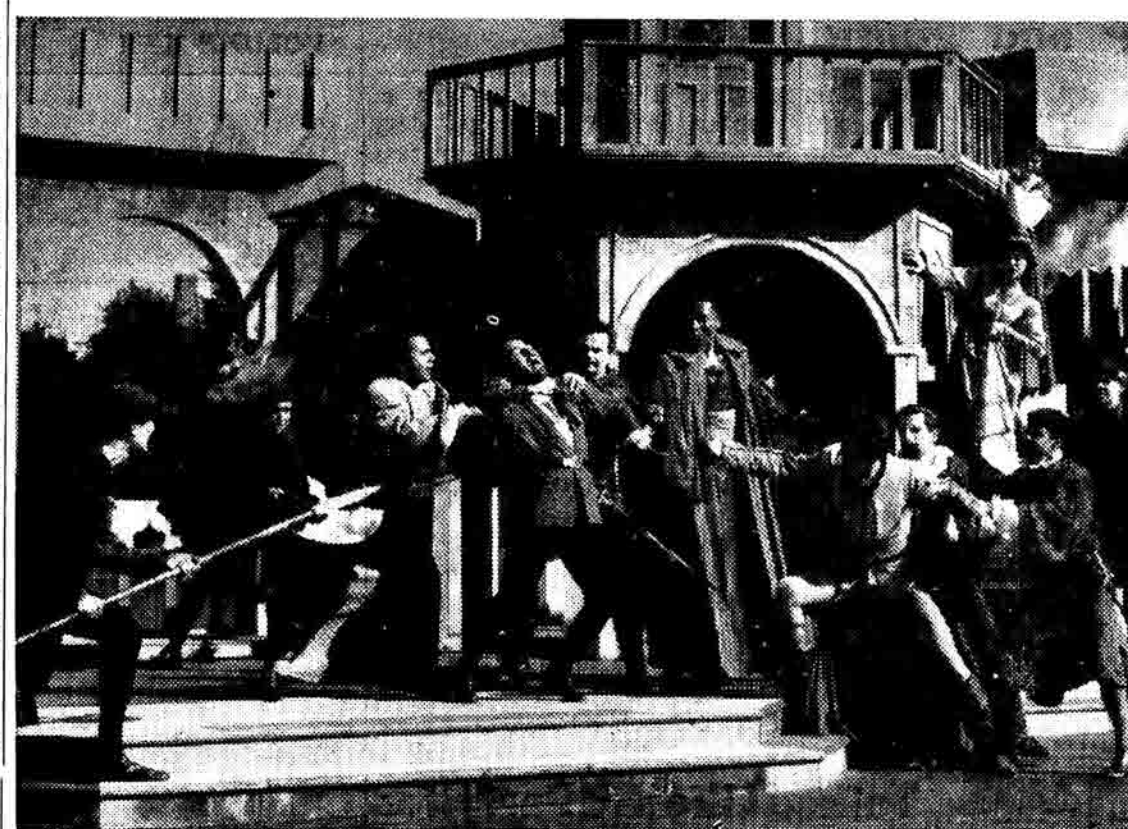
Thus I found myself on a beautiful Saturday afternoon in the open-air theater interviewing the founder and producer of the Shakespeare Festival, Joseph Papp.

### 80% NEVER SAW PLAY

Mr. Papp started producing Shakespeare's plays as a public service back in 1953 on the Lower East Side. He began the interview by posing a question: "Do you know that in New York City, the cultural center of the U.S., most of the people have never even seen live action on the stage?" "Last year," he continued, "we toured the five boroughs with the Shakespeare Festival and we found that 80% of our audience had never seen a live play, much less Shakespeare. It is precisely this situation that we want to correct."

It is Mr. Papp's aim to bring theater to the people for their enjoyment. Wherever he has done so, he has been gratified by the participation of the audiences during the performances. This is his reward.

"They take in all the action and seem to hang on every word," he told me. "I have had experience in the toughest neighborhoods, for example in the Lower East Side at the East River Park Amphitheater. There, we would always get some tough looking characters and we thought we might have trouble, but instead when the play got under way they would become



Scene from the New York Shakespeare Festival production of Othello as staged in Central Park.

rapt in the action and the story. If they argued at all it would be over what was going to happen next."

That the Shakespeare Festival already plays an important role in cultural education is self-evident. This past winter the Festival put on its plays at the city-owned Heckscher Theater. As part of the program of the Board of Education, 2,000 high school students a week had the opportunity of seeing a Shakespeare play. They are, in Mr. Papp's opinion the most difficult audience to please, and their positive reaction was very gratifying.

### A WORK OF LOVE

Another very important aspect of the Festival's work is the contribution made by the actors who give their time and energy because they love to act and want an audience. At the very most they make expenses out of the deal but they gain in acting experience and in

knowing how to establish an understanding with the audience, which is so much a part of acting.

"This is the way it should be," concluded Mr. Papp, "people have the right to the enjoyment and education that the theater affords, not only when they have the money to pay for it, but even more so when they do not." Here lies the difference between the theater as Mr. Papp is proposing it and the theater that is known as show business which is run on the basis of making a profit.

What is the Festival asking of the city government? To this question Mr. Papp replied that the city has to consider the Festival as a definite part of its cultural life and not as a part of show business. "We are asking," he said, "that the city subsidize us for 50% of our expenses, with the other 50% made up by personal contributions from private indi-

viduals. Thus far the city permits the Festival the use of the Belvedere Theater in the summer and the Heckscher Theater in the winter. For the rest we must subsist from day to day solely relying on the contributions of individuals."

A subsidy of at least 50% of total cost will be necessary if the Festival is to continue. Othello cost \$20,000 to produce, including eight or nine weeks of preparations. As a Broadway production, it would have cost \$150,000 to stage.

### THE PUBLIC WELFARE

Mayor Wagner and the city government seem to be of the opinion that the Festival doesn't come under their jurisdiction. While this is certainly not the only grievance that the people of New York have against the city administration, it is just another instance of the neglect of human rights. It makes one wonder what exactly is the jurisdiction of the

city government? The government is supposed to be concerned with the well-being of its citizens — at least that is what we are told. This theater has already proven itself a source of enjoyment and cultural development to tens of thousands of New Yorkers, but the city government remains apathetic instead of willing to assist.

What Mr. Papp is proposing is this: Let New York give the Festival financial backing, and it will be feasible to establish a tri-state Shakespearean Festival which would cover New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Thus a "grass roots" movement would begin which could lead to a nationally planned program enriching the lives of people throughout the United States.

This interview brought to mind the reports of Howard Taubman, New York Times music critic, of his experiences as observer of Soviet culture recently. He reports in his articles (which began June 30 in the Times) that the Soviet people have been enjoying a real growth in established cultural entertainment since 1917. Live performances of the classics are well acted and well attended and appreciated particularly by the youth. It is made available to all.

Comparing these conditions with those in the United States he stated: "The United States has wonderful diversity in the arts. But must it be purchased at the cost of the artist's insecurity? Is there not enough ingenuity and good-will in America to match the solid virtues the Soviet Union has established in the arts without aping its disadvantages and without loss of our zest for experiments and adventure?"

To these very pertinent remarks of Howard Taubman should be added the thoughts of Mr. Papp: "The theater must be made available to the people and in particular the youth. At this time in our lives, when all emphasis is on the use of science for destruction, Shakespeare with his humanity and compassion assumes extraordinary importance."

## ...King Opposes Mideast Policy



Rev. Joseph P. King, socialist candidate for Congress, Second District, Illinois.

(Continued from Page 1) this democratic decision for themselves.

"I call on all Americans to speak out in their respective organizations for withdrawal of the troops from Lebanon. I call on the mass organizations of labor, the unions and the NAACP, to organize mass demonstrations against the use of American military power against the colonial people of the Middle East and elsewhere."

The socialist candidate accused Eisenhower of acting swiftly "for both Republicans and Democrats in mobilizing military force 'for democracy' in Lebanon, half way around the world."

### CAN'T ACT AT HOME

But here at home, he said, the same government "cannot provide the elementary democratic rights for its own people, such as rights to jobs, to schools, to housing, and to the use of public facilities such as parks and hospitals."

"The reason Eisenhower acted so swiftly," the candidate said, was to protect the profits of the big oil interests. "The present U.S. government is no more interested in democracy abroad than they are at home. In Lebanon it is not democracy that the Marines are being sent to fight for—but the profits for the big oil interests, and the continued capitalist domination over the colonial people."

"To continue their profits, these mad men in Washington and Wall Street would risk plunging the entire world into an atomic World War III. They would prefer to destroy an entire civilization rather than to give up their profit system."

## ...New York Anti-War Campaign

(Continued from Page 1)

Campaign Committee. Dr. Lamont said that an overloaded schedule had caused him to decline running for political office this year. "But during the past few days I have been so disturbed over the new threat of international war and so shocked over the lack of opposition in the United States to the reckless and immoral resort to force by the Eisenhower Administration that I feel the people of New York State must be given the opportunity to vote for genuine peace candidates in 1958."

At a well-attended press conference that morning, Dr. Lamont released the text of his letter and explained his stand.

Assailing the bi-partisan support for the Korea-like action, Lamont said: "Truman, a leading Democrat, is supporting it. And Stevenson, in Moscow, apparently is too. I'm afraid the Democrats aren't going to put up any opposition."

### NEED LABOR OPPOSITION

Pointing out that the British Labor Party had voted against the intervention, he said, "I believe we ought to have that kind of opposition in the United States."

Asked if he did not believe it "obvious" that the Soviet Union was behind the revolts in Lebanon and Iraq, Lamont told the newsmen: "Arab nationalism is an indigenous movement. It would go on if Russia were to sink to the bottom of the ocean."

"Of course the Russians are pleased," he added, "they've always supported the colonial and semi-colonial independence movement. But they are in no way responsible for the events in Iraq and Lebanon."

Pointing out that the UN had found no evidence of "infiltration" in Lebanon, Lamont expressed the view that the U.S. "should have worked through UN channels."

As he pressed his indictment of the U.S. role in the Mideast, one reporter questioned Lamont about his views on the Soviet Union's intervention in Hungary.

**AGAINST NAGY EXECUTION**  
Lamont replied: "Whatever the mistakes of the Soviet Union, which have been many — I think there have been mistakes in regard to Hungary and Yugoslavia — I insist there can be coexistence with the Soviet Union and the Communist bloc. We still need a summit meeting to work out international issues. As you know, I have

## Corliss Lamont's Acceptance Letter

(The following is the text of a letter from Corliss Lamont to John T. McManus and Henry Abrams, co-chairmen of the United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee in New York accepting the committee's nomination for the office of U.S. Senator.)

I am glad to accept the decision of your committee and to run as the candidate of the United Socialist Party for U.S. Senator from New York in the 1958 elections. I shall wage as vigorous a campaign as possible for the great goals of international peace, civil liberties and an economic system that will do away with recurrent economic depressions and mass unemployment.

In view of the crisis in the Middle East and the other international issues facing the United States and the world, I intend to stress in my campaign the questions of peace, disarmament and international cooperation both inside and outside of the United Nations.

I am proud that the United Socialist Party has from the first strongly protested against the reckless military intervention in Lebanon by President Eisenhower. We are the only group taking part in the 1958 electoral campaign that has done this. I challenge all other parties and candidates for office in the coming election in New York State to denounce, as we have denounced, the terrible blunder of sending the U.S. Marines into the Middle East.

The United Socialist Party stands with the British Labor Party — which voted solidly against English intervention in Jordan — in opposition to Anglo-American military efforts to suppress the national aspirations of the Arab people towards full political and economic independence.

I am confident that our ticket will receive a tremendous vote of approval from the voters of New York State thus bringing a new coalition party into realization with a permanent status.

been critical of civil liberties in the Soviet Union and I have criticized the execution of Nagy. But despite the dictatorial aspects of the Soviet regime, in international affairs I think we can work out agreement."

On the issue of trade and cultural relations with the Soviet Union, Lamont said, "I'm all for cultural exchange and I think more trade should be opened up. That's all to the good." Asked if he favored recognition of Red China, he replied, "Oh yes, our party's plank calls for recognition of Red China and its admission into the UN."

### STRESSES PEACE ISSUE

Discussing campaign plans, he said the ticket would run many meetings and use radio and TV time when it could get it. He said he would campaign mostly around New York City but would do as much upstate campaigning as time permitted. "The peace issue will be paramount" in the campaign, he said, "but we'll also put heavy stress on civil liberties and civil rights."

We're going to be the first political grouping to come out

against this intervention," he pointed out. "I think it will get us a lot of votes. There are a lot of people — not necessarily radicals — who will be glad to vote for a party that stands for peace."

"And don't forget," he added, "in this crisis we've forgotten all about the H-bomb and the fact that the United States has done nothing to match the Soviet suspension of tests."

Asked if the United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee was associated with the Socialist Party, Lamont answered: "The Socialist Party — the Norman Thomas group — recently merged with the Social Democratic Federation. We have no connection with these groups except perhaps in the formal sense that all these groups stand for socialism."

"My understanding is that the Socialist Party will support the Lebanese policy. We hope to get a lot of their votes despite what their leaders will do."

Won't a campaign against the U.S. action in Lebanon be interpreted in some quarters as "dis-loyal?" one reporter asked. "I'll have to take that chance,"

Lamont replied. "I think it's the duty of every citizen to speak out when the government makes a terrible mistake. If it lands me in jail, well, that's all part of the game I guess."

In his formal letter of acceptance of the Senatorial nomination (See text this page), Dr. Lamont pledged to "wage as vigorous a campaign as possible for the great goals of international peace, civil liberties and an economic system that will do away with recurrent economic depressions and mass unemployment."

Dr. Lamont is a humanist in his philosophical views. A disciple of John Dewey, he lectures at Columbia University. Long an opponent of the cold war against the Soviet Union, he has played an important role in dramatizing the movement to halt the nuclear tests. In collaboration with his wife, Margaret Lamont, he published a pamphlet last week entitled, "To End Nuclear Tests." It includes his correspondence with high American and Soviet officials urging each government to suspend nuclear tests.

### VICTOR IN TWO CIVIL LIBERTIES CASES

In the fight for civil liberties, he has been the victor in two important court cases. In 1956 he won a unanimous Federal Circuit Court decision vindicating his resistance to the late Senator Joseph McCarthy whose inquisitorial committee had cited him for contempt of Congress. The citation sprang from his refusal to answer questions on the ground of the rights afforded by the First Amendment. Recently, he won a passport after a long legal fight with the State Department.

A supporter of Henry Wallace in 1948, Dr. Lamont was the American Labor Party candidate for U.S. Senator in 1952, polling 104,702 votes.

His running mates, John T. McManus and Dr. Annette Rubinstein, an educator and author, also have been prominent in the fight for world peace, civil liberties and independent political action.

A former president of the New York Newspaper Guild, McManus was the ALP candidate for Governor in 1950 and 1954, polling 220,000 and 46,000 votes. Dr. Rubinstein, a former state vice-chairman of the ALP, has been a candidate for the State Assembly and for Congress. In 1953 she was campaign manager for the late Clifford T. McAvoy as ALP candidate for Mayor of New York.



# The Negro Struggle

By Jean Simon

## NAACP and Political Action

In an article last week about the 49th annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People held in Cleveland recently, we said that one of the significant developments we noted was:

"Preparation for battle in the political arena by increased independence from both the Democratic and Republican parties and stepped up campaigns to guarantee Negroes the right to vote in the South."

A superficial observer might challenge this conclusion, since the formal resolutions and official statements on political action did not express any sharp break with the past "non-partisan" policy of the organization.

In fact, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the NAACP board of directors, stated in his keynote address, "We shall continue to reward our friends and punish our enemies."

There was no clear call for a policy of "punishing" the two parties that monopolize the political scene for their opposition to the demands of the NAACP. Nor was there proposed a program for running independent candidates or calling for the formation of an independent political party of labor and the Negro masses to end their political ineffectiveness.

But these elements making for such a change were present: A new self-confidence and independent spirit based on the achievements of the Negro masses and the numerous examples of individual courage of the past few years, particularly in the South. A definite turn from emphasis on legal suits to "community" action, political action and a program of educational propaganda aimed at the "man on the street," colored and white.

### "Stop Dragging Feet"

Second only to Little Rock and the school desegregation fight at the convention was the determination to conduct vigorous and aggressive campaigns to increase registration and voting of Negroes. The delegates resolved:

"That we increase our financial expenditures to promote registration-and-vote campaigns in the South and that all the facilities of our organization be used to make registration and voting a top priority project."

"That we call upon the United States Department of Justice to stop dragging its feet in enforcing the law and to begin an effective program of applying the new civil rights law so that all qualified citizens may vote without fear of reprisals."

The mood of the delegates was so clear in placing responsibility on government agencies and the administration for denial of civil rights to Negroes, that no leader or official attempted to whitewash the role of Congress or the President.

In the Cleveland Plain Dealer, Sanford Watzman reported: "Running as a thread through many of the resolutions was strong criticism of President Eisenhower—and to a lesser extent of Congress—for what was said to amount to a cold shoulder attitude on strengthening civil rights."

"We in Congress and the President in the White House have dodged this issue for too long," Democratic Senator Paul H. Douglas confessed.

He shared the platform at an evening mass meeting with his Republican counterpart, Sen. Jacob K. Javits, of New York.

### Talked Like 3rd Partyites

The Plain Dealer reporter noted: "They put on a rare show for the audience before going into their formal speeches. They engaged in an exchange of compliments so fervent and protracted they appeared to belong together to a different party, neither Democrat nor Republican."

The meaning of their performance, of course, was that in order to speak to the NAACP neither politician could take responsibility for his party or ask for support for it.

In his keynote address Dr. Tobias had hit on the real sentiments of the delegates when he said that the NAACP "is not in the vest pocket of any political party . . . I don't care what party a man belongs to. As long as he does the right thing by us we're for him."

With that attitude, and with thousands of new Negro voters militantly asserting their right to cast their ballots in the next presidential election, can there be any doubt as to how they would welcome a genuine change? How they would greet a labor party slate or a united socialist ticket? Or respond to candidates who could face them with a clear conscience, an unambiguous civil rights program and a clean record of opposition to segregation and discrimination? Such candidates could say:

"Let's vote for what we want. Let's build our own political instrument of social change, a party with no ties or commitments to the preservation of the status quo; no compromise with jim crow!"

VOLUME XXII

MONDAY, JULY 28, 1958

NUMBER 30

# THE MILITANT

## Meany Resists Aid Pacts

## Tries to Block Teamster Plan for Transport Unity

By Frances James

Threats of new expulsions and a deepened split in the trade-union movement was the core of AFL-CIO president George Meany's response to questions about the mutual assistance pacts and transportation workers' unity moves recently

### Socialist Youth Act Against War



Young Socialists demonstrate before the Federal Building in Los Angeles. They are protesting the landing of U.S. Marines in Lebanon. One of the banners reads, "A World of Peace and Plenty — Not One in Plenty of Pieces." (See story on page two.)

## Auto Workers Resist Chrysler Union-Busting

JULY 22 — United Auto Workers in major Chrysler Corporation plants throughout the country are putting up a militant fight against company attempts to break

down union grievance procedures and to institute speed-up. The corporation's contract with the UAW expired June 1, and the union charges the company with a continuous "campaign of harassment" since that time. (ALF-CIO News, July 5, 1958.)

In Detroit, a protest by Chrysler workers at the Plymouth body plant is reported in the July 10 Michigan CIO News. On June 27, the company ordered a cut in manpower in the trim department, slashing the number of workers on one operation from 18 to 9. Hubert Emerich, vice-president of Local 212, to which the workers belong, said: "Management expected to save production costs, but the men just couldn't keep up the operations. They were forced off their jobs."

### 75 WALK OUT

On July 8, two workers were discharged for allegedly scuffling with company representatives. According to Emerich, the two were acting as spokesmen in a grievance over speed-up when a crowd of angry men accidentally jostled them to the company officials. Seventy-five workers walked off the job in protest over the discharges of the accused men, whereupon the company employed a routine "failure-to-meet - production - standards" charge and sent home all of the 5,400 workers employed at Chrysler's Plymouth body and assembly plants in Detroit.

The Local 212 executive board ordered members back to work stating that the discharges and the speed-up issue would be taken up July 14, when negotiations with the company would be resumed. Disciplinary layoffs and production disputes continued throughout the week and resulted in 2,700 first-shift employees remaining away from work on July 18. The Detroit Free Press reports this action as the sixth time that the Plymouth body and assembly plants have been shut down because of labor disputes in the last three weeks.

In Newark, N.J., 1,700 workers were off the job at the Chrysler-Dodge-Plymouth assembly plant on July 17. A UAW spokesman in Detroit said a walkout occurred in protest over work standards.

### NLRB CHARGES

In Huntington Park, California, UAW Local 230 filed an NLRB complaint against Chrysler Corporation on June 16, charging that management at the corporation's assembly plant refused to handle employee grievances properly since the old contract expired on June 1. On July 17 the company filed retaliatory charges with the National Labor Relations Board stating that Local 230 was in violation of the National Labor Relations Act by virtue of "causing 10 work stoppages since June 10." (Huntington Park Daily Signal,

July 17.) Bob Thimmes, official of the local, called the charges ridiculous. Referring to the 200-man walk-off on June 18, Thimmes said: "Those individuals were protesting against the company when it wouldn't listen to their grievance over a speedup in production. It was not a work stoppage."

Union members working for Ford, Chrysler and General Motors have voted by more than 93% to authorize strike action if necessary to gain a satisfactory contract settlement with the big three auto companies. Negotiations are now at a standstill, according to union representatives. Official UAW policy is to hold up any union action until production of 1959 models begins next month. In the meantime, the international officers have refused to authorize any strike action by the locals and have in every case where such action has been initiated by the rank and file, ordered them to return to work.

## Calendar Of Events

### PHILADELPHIA

Friday, Aug. 1, 8:30 P.M. "The Arab World in Revolt." Hear Myra Tanner Weiss, 1956 Socialist Workers Party Candidate for U.S. Vice-President, Chairman: Eloise Fickland, SWP candidate for Lt.-Governor of Penna. 1303 Girard Ave. Donation 50 cents; unemployed and students 25 cents.

Sat., Aug. 2, 8:30 P.M. Social gathering with Myra Tanner Weiss and Eloise Fickland at 1818 No. 24th St.

### LOS ANGELES

Friday, Aug. 1, 8:15 P.M. "U.S. Dilemma in the Middle East." Speaker: Hildegard McLeod. Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4th St. Questions and Discussion. Auspices: International Socialist Review.

### NEW YORK

Wed., Aug. 6, 8:30 P.M. Discussion on "The Middle East Crisis." Speakers: Kumar Goshal, National Guardian editorial staff; United Independent Socialist Ticket candidate to be announced. Sponsored by Young Socialist Alliance in cooperation with the UIST. At 144 Second Avenue (near 9th Street). Air-cooled hall. Informal social will follow the meeting.

'PEACETIME' BUDGET The proposed federal budget for this year is \$73.9 billions — America's largest "peacetime" budget — but \$47.6 billion, or 64% of it, is for military or military-connected expenses.



James Hoffa (top), president of the Teamsters Union, and George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO.

of the union, was in the forefront of the union which led to the expulsion of allegedly "Communist dominated" unions in 1949, and he was an abettor of further splits in the labor movement when the AFL-CIO expelled several unions on corruption charges. Nevertheless, the present NMU defense of the transportation workers' unity move against Meany's attacks will be welcomed by rank-and-file maritime workers. For they are the ones who suffer from a divided labor movement, inter-union rivalry and jurisdictional disputes.

Meany's threats of arbitrary action by the AFL-CIO by no means put the damper on Hoffa. He moved ahead another step, in his plan for transportation unity, by announcing on July 21 that he had invited Harry Bridges, president of the West Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union to meet in Washington with leaders of the East Coast International Longshoremen's Association.

The purpose of the meeting is to work out a common contract termination date for all longshore unions and to discuss such technical waterfront problems as hoisting of loaded trailers directly into ship holds. Hoffa declared: "Because the teamsters deal with the longshore unions on both the East and West Coasts, we are in a unique position to bring these two unions together to seek a constructive solution to the labor-management problems in the industry." Such a meeting, he added, "would be most

beneficial if we are to avoid work stoppages, jurisdictional disputes and ruinous interport competition."

Hoffa denies any connection between this projected meeting and the call announced July 3 over the signatures of NMU, IBT and ILA officials for the formation of a permanent Conference of Transportation Unity. Objection was raised by the Sailors Union of the Pacific officials at that time to Bridges' participation in any such conference. Hoffa's latest move demonstrates that he intends to override these objections and establish working unity, regardless of formal status, with all transportation unions.

The announcement, July 3, of the projected conference on transportation unity provoked violent reaction in Washington. The Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field has called Hoffa and Harold J. Gibbons, Hoffa's executive assistant and "chief brain trust," to a hearing on Aug. 4. Among the charges under "investigation" is their "asserted complicity in a plot to fix a jury in an Indiana land graft case involving Maurice A. Hutcheson, president of the Carpenters Union." (N.Y. Times, July 22). The hearing has been moved ahead two weeks from a previously scheduled date and will now open before the AFL-CIO Executive Council meets in the middle of August.

The AFL-CIO leadership's political policy of dependence upon "labor's friends" in Washington and upon the Democratic party has led it to cooperate with the anti-labor Senate "investigations." The McClellan Committee's move for an earlier IBT and Carpenters hearings is undoubtedly designed to pressure the AFL-CIO Executive Council to deepen its split with the Teamsters.

To put a stop to this interference by government agencies in union affairs, the workers will have to oppose political reliance on capitalist politicians and urge the building of a Labor Party. To put a stop to Meany's course of splitting the labor movement, the rank-and-file union members should welcome and support all unity proposals even if they come from corrupt, power-motivated sources such as Hoffa's bureaucratic machines. They should push for working unity, then formal unity on a democratic basis.

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## West Coast Steel Local Hears Rarick in Debate

LOS ANGELES — A debate between Donald Rarick, national leader of the Dues Protest Committee and Charles J. Smith, District 38 Director of the United Steel Workers of America, featured installation of new officers in USWA Local 2869 at Kaiser Steel Corporation's huge Fontana plant. The Fontana union, with more than 6,000 members, is the largest steel local on the West Coast.

The local supporters of the Dues Protest Committee, headed by the new president, Tom Flaherty, waged a long and uphill fight to win leadership from the McDonald forces. After a clear-cut victory in the June union-local elections, they extended an invitation to Rarick to attend the installation.

Stan O'Neill, outgoing president of Local 2869, countered with an invitation to Smith to administer the oath of office to the new administration. The presence of Smith and Rarick at the standing-room-only meeting in the 1,500-seat union hall of the Fontana local led to a sharp exchange between them.

**CHARGES CORRUPTION** After Smith had installed the officers, Rarick was invited to address the meeting. He charged the leadership of USWA President David J. McDonald with corrupt practices and called for democratic reforms within the steel workers' union. He placed particular emphasis on the point that all staff representatives should be elected rather than appointed as they are at the present time. He further contended that he had proof of irregularities and fraud in the last international union election in which McDonald was declared winner by a vote of 404,172 to Rarick's 223,516.

Rarick proposed a number of democratic reforms in his campaign platform and opposed a \$2 dues increase pushed through a previous convention by the McDonald machine.

Rarick's support for election rather than appointment of USWA international representatives had direct bearing on the main issue in the recent campaign in the Fontana local,

because the election was decided primarily on the basis of being for or against the policies of staff representatives Billy Brunton and Lloyd Dayton.

Smith took the floor to heatedly deny Rarick's charges and hurl counter-charges. He denounced Rarick for running to the McClellan Senate "investigating" Committee with charges of USWA corruption. He also accused Rarick of having testified in favor of legislation calling for government interference in the affairs of the labor movement and for government restriction on the unions. Smith also argued that the election outcome in the Fontana local was not a vote against McDonald, but rather an anti-Brunton-and-Dayton demonstration.

### PERSONAL ATTACK

The meeting was thrown into further turmoil when Rarick's attorney and traveling companion Ashton, who is not a member of the USWA, was granted the courtesy of speaking and launched a vitriolic personal attack upon Smith. Although the Rarick group was supported by a majority of the members at the meeting, the reaction against Ashton's remarks was so pronounced that he was forced to extend an apology.

After both Rarick and Smith asserted that they had evidence to support their respective charges, a motion was passed inviting them to present their evidence at some future meeting to be held at their convenience.

All observers are in agreement that the election of the DPC group in Fontana is a further sign of restlessness and dissatisfaction within the rank and file of the USWA. Smith's argument that the vote was not against McDonald is not borne out by the facts. The new leaders of Local 2869 have asked Smith and McDonald to remove Brunton and Dayton from office. Their request has been denied. It only stands to reason that McDonald must bear the brunt of the rank and file's resentment of these interna-

tional representatives since he insisted on keeping them in their present positions.

Many militant unionists in steel, while supporting some of the DPC's ideas on union democracy are critical of this movement's failure to develop an economic program for the steel workers' union. Certainly with the present layoffs and short work-weeks in the industry, it would seem that a genuinely progressive faction would give great stress to the demand of a 30-hour week for 40 hours pay as well as some of the other badly-needed economic improvements.

### OPPOSE AID TO MCCLELLAN

These same militants are in outright opposition to Rarick on his stand in respect to the Senate labor "investigation" committee. Only a novice can seriously believe that the reactionary members of the McClellan committee — such as McClellan himself — are interested in wiping out corruption in the labor movement. They are not out for clean unions. What they really want is dead unions.

According to Rarick, the DPC is going to make a strenuous effort to elect delegates to the Sept. 15 USWA convention.

The committee's goal is to win enough delegates to force roll-call votes on some of the issues they plan to raise. The DPC's main strength appears to be in a number of large basic steel plants, and the roll-call votes would allow them to vote the numerical strength of their membership.

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